UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARIES
DEC 19 1947

DECEMBER 22, 1947

New Republic

BEGINNING:

A SERIES OF HISTORICAL PORTRAITS OF MOVERS & SHAKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY—CREATORS & CARRIERS OF OUR LIBERAL TRADITION

I. IGNATIUS DONNELLY: Apostle of Protest

By STEWART H. HOLBROOK

ALSO:

U. S. ANTI-SEMITISM: VI

By BRUCE BLIVEN

THOUGHTS AT CHRISTMAS

By HENRY WALLACE

15¢

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Have you taken advantage of

New Republic's Holiday Gift Offer?

SIX-MONTH-TRIAL GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS AT TWO DOLLARS EACH FOR NEW READERS STILL IN EFFECT

There is no better gift this Holiday Season than New Republic—the magazine that leads today in America's struggle for peace and progress.

Thousands of people have already taken advantage of the special gift-subscription rates given below. The estimated paid circulation has jumped from 89,000 since November to some 96,000 at the time of this issue. Four thousand new subscribers are needed to complete the goal of 100,000 net paid circulation by the end of this year.

You are urged to help fill this quota. Give New Republic gift subscriptions to friends, neighbors, business associates today. Add to the swelling subscription list . . . to the core of liberal America by signing and mailing coupon today.

NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I wish to help NR in its drive to secure new readers. Please send Christmas gift subscriptions to the following names and addresses below, at the following rates:

1 Annual Subscription for $6; 2 Annual Gifts for $10; 3 Annual Gifts for $14. Additional subscriptions after 3, are $4 each if ordered at one time. (Your own subscription may be included at above rates.)

☐ Check here if you wish to give 26-week Trial Gift Subscriptions at Special Rate of $2 each. (For new readers only.) Good until Dec. 31, 1947.

To_____ To_____

Address_____ Address_____

City, State_____ City, State_____

To_____ To_____

Address_____ Address_____

City, State_____ City, State_____

☐ *I enclose* $_____ *for these gift subscriptions.* ☐ *Send bill.* ☐ *Send gift card as from:*

Signed_____

Address_____

City, Zone, State_____

(Fill this in as donor's complete name and address.)

12-22-47

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace
PUBLISHER: Michael Straight
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

CONTENTS FOR DEC. 22, 1947

3 Washington Wire
5 The Week
10 ADA Foreign Policy
12 Henry Wallace
14 The Auschwitz Trial
16 VI: Anti-Semitism, 1947
19 Preacher with a Message
20 Ignatius Donnelly
25 Books in Review
29 Radio
31 Business
32 Farm
33 Movies
34 Theater
35 Music
37 Labor
38 Correspondence
39 Bandwagon

MANAGING EDITOR: Edd Johnson
ARTICLES: William Harlan Hale (Chief), Norman Grieser, Joseph Lyford, Richard Strouse, Theodore H. White, Thomas Whiteside
STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Lew Frank Jr., Robin Kinkead, Ralph G. Martin, Claire Neikind, Thomas Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Richard Watts Jr.
WASHINGTON BUREAU: William Walton (Chief), Jean Begeman, Helen Fuller, Jan Hasbrouck, James R. Newman
DEPARTMENTS: Robert L. Hatch (Chief), George Mayberry (Books), Harold Wolff (Business), Angus McDonald (Farm), Eva Putnam (Foreign Press), Willard Shelton (Labor), Charles Miller and Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio), Irwin Shaw (Theater), Jane Bedell (United Nations)
ART: James Grunbaum (Chief), Lynn Chase
COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Sally Howell, Ruth Tarcov
RESEARCH: Myriam Wilson (Chief), Elizabeth Bigler, Barbara Greenfeld, Vasiliki Sarant
LIBRARY: Patricia Kuhnel (Chief), Fannie B. Sibley
TREASURER: Daniel Mebane
ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1947, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

IT IS our considered judgment that ERP will have harder going than any previous international-aid proposal since the war ended. First, there is the election: that will ball everything up. Second, there is the realization, at long last, that European aid requires direct American sacrifice, either through higher prices or inflation curbs. Third, there is the old, latent isolationism, which appeared at every point in the emergency-aid debate. That debate in the House last week was pretty sickening (see page 5). One thing must be emphasized: don't be deceived by the big majorities into thinking emergency aid was popular; it wasn't. The real attack on it was flank, not frontal, and time after time the program escaped by only a hair's breadth.

ERP's chances. The controlling fact in our foreign policy is and remains Russia. Like it or not, no congressman can be put in a position of seeming to favor communism. This is an incentive to leaders to flog Russia at every point, even to achieve admirable objectives.

God knows the Kremlin has cooperated right along in promoting those very developments in Congress which it most hates and fears. Communist-supported French and Italian general strikes were nicely timed to put over stop-gap aid in Washington.

But this ERP is vastly bigger. Its sum is tremendous; its length is four years. Whether the Administration's crisis-technique can handle something as vast as this is uncertain. Our conclusions: (1) substantial ERP aid will be given; (2) it will take longer to pass than the Administration hopes; (3) it will be a lot less than Truman proposes.

Stop Ike. The GOP Old Guard "Stop Ike" move appears to have reached the point where a planted story was broadcast by Fulton Lewis Jr., quoting Eisenhower on something he never said. Things are getting bitter among top Republican presidential candidates, and Ike is probably finding out things he didn't dream of in American politics.

Last week he attended the annual dinner of Mrs. Hannah Durham given for Pennsylvania and other GOP leaders. Senators Robert A. Taft, Arthur H. Vandenberg, Styles Bridges and former Senator Warren R. Austin were there. When the ladies withdrew, the subject among the men turned to inflation, as it does now whenever any two or three Americans get together. The crowd was small enough so that everybody could hear what was said. Ike took the conversational ball with some general observations to the effect that the time has come for a program of self-sacrifice for all.

A strange version of these comments came out in Lewis' broadcast, couched unfavorably to Ike—that the general advocated a 100-percent profits tax for the next couple of years. We know at least three guests at the party who say Ike never said it. Washington gossip has pinned the responsibility on Representative Clarence Brown (R, Ohio), a strong Taft supporter, and Senator Bridges as the ones who planted the story with Fulton Lewis Jr. Or maybe Lewis just picked it out of the air.

The "Stop Ike" drive comes from GOP regulars, who see him as "another Willkie." If Ike is seriously presented at the Philadelphia convention, the fight will be dirty.

The mouse. Inflation is a funny thing. In 1943, Congress rejected FDR's appeal for $10.5 billion additional anti-inflation taxes, though economists warned that refusal to vote such

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

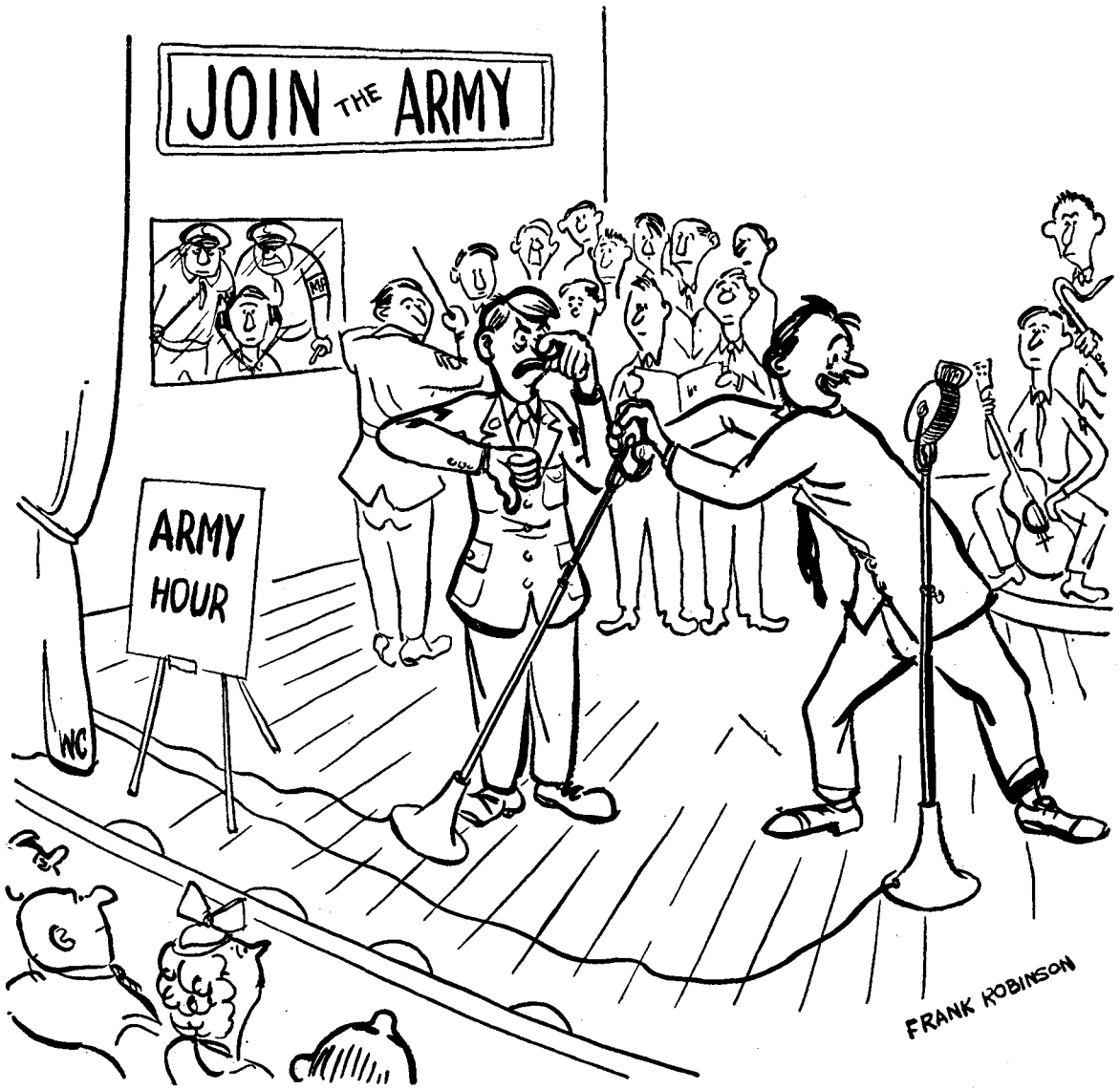
taxes would, in the long run, prove ruinously expensive to the country.

Wars have to be paid for, somehow. Lacking these taxes, inflation has gone quietly, like a little mouse, into every strongbox, trust vault and piggy-bank in the country, into every widow's mite and into every life-insurance policy, and eaten away half of the value. Congress and the public wouldn't face the burden of taxes in the war; a somewhat more drastic burden has consequently been imposed—but, of course, on a different class of people. The anti-inflation picture is now gloomy here.

We should think that the conservatives, the spokesmen for the capitalistic system, the Republicans, would be most scared; it is their system which is at stake. But they don't seem to be. They have introduced a program placing emphasis on voluntary controls, which Truman abandoned some years ago. It is hard to believe them sincere, since they couple this with a big new drive for tax reduction, which of course is highly inflationary.

It is the story of OPA controls over again. Chester Bowles in '46 asked for real controls; Congress voted make-believe controls. The GOP won the '46 election on this artful confusion of the issue. Can the Republicans do it again? It will be a neat trick if they can. But don't ever forget that economics soon catches up with politics; just remember that rebuff of FDR's appeal for higher taxes in 1943 and the little inflation mouse that subsequently ate away your life-insurance policy.

Washington T. R. B.



"And that concludes our program on the subject of Universal Military Training—by the men who know the Army best. All the views expressed on this program are not necessarily those of the sponsor."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 25, ISSUE 1725, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 22, 1947 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

THE HAZARDS INVOLVED in getting funny with a funny man were illustrated in San Francisco a few days ago when Ring Lardner Jr. visited the city after having been "sprung," as he said, from federal custody in Los Angeles. Lardner appeared before an audience of 2,000 and gave them the "confession" J. Parnell Thomas wanted to hear from him.

He had been seduced into the movement, Lardner said, by a ravishing girl whose party name, she revealed next morning, was "The Torch."

His subversion proceeded apace, getting him in deeper and deeper until he found himself in a school so far underground that graduates received their diplomas in decompression chambers.

But disillusion set in. "One night," said Lardner, "I dreamed of resigning." The dream was recorded on a secret device and automatically radioed to Moscow, where it was analyzed by a huddle of Soviet psychiatrists. When he woke in the morning, there was a full interpretation of the dream lying on his pillow—and a loaded pistol beside it.

THE INFLATION FIGHT

Jockeying. For three weeks after the President outlined to Congress his 10-point program for inflation control, the Republicans taunted the Administration with being vague. Meanwhile, they were just as vague themselves.

In the middle of last week the shadowboxing stopped and real blows came thick and fast. First, Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman appeared before a Senate judiciary subcommittee with a bill which covered four of President Truman's 10 points. It asked for presidential authority to apply priorities to scarce goods, to allocate them to essential users (including power to impose consumer rationing), to control inventories and to extend export controls. The subcommittee's chairman, Senator John S. Cooper (R, Ky.), said he was "overwhelmed."

The only GOP "out" was to throw the whole thing back into the President's lap and hope that the continued inflation could somehow be blamed on White House inaction. Two days later, the GOP did just this.

Representative Jesse P. Wolcott (R, Mich.), chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, introduced into the House a bill authorizing the President to "consult with representatives of industry, business and agriculture" about voluntary agreements within these groups to allocate transport facilities, market livestock at the most efficient grades, allocate and inventory-control scarce commodities and limit speculative trading. Price-fixing agreements were barred, but apart from that the anti-trust laws were to be suspended—almost a replica of the NRA.

President Truman replied that never, so long as he was President and could stop it, would the anti-trust laws be relaxed. Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach followed up by hitting the Republicans with a bill for presidential powers to roll back prices of critical items to a June 11-18 level.

The GOP ignored this second blow and prepared to rush the Wolcott measure through under rules prohibiting amendments from the floor and limiting debate to 20 minutes a side.

Lovers' Competition

It was a big week for prizes. In Detroit, General Motors named 5,145 employees who had won awards in its "My Job and Why I Like It" letter-writing contest. The 40 top winners got new automobiles; the rest received such things as refrigerators, electric ranges, washing machines, ironers, home freezers, radios, etc.

And on the day Pullman porter Fred Wright completed his fifty-fifth year of service on the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, company executives presented him with a gold badge.

THE INTERIM AID VOTE

Debate. The six days of debate on the emergency-aid program revealed tensions and basic disagreements which will take on much larger proportions when the long-range ERP is the issue.

"Forgive us all that we talk too much and think too little," Chaplain Peter Marshall prayed on the day before the final vote. Leaders as well as rabid individual members needed his prayers. Old-time isolationists like Representatives August Andresen (R, Minn.), Harold Knutson (R, Minn.) and Howard Buffett (R, Nebr.) not unexpectedly challenged the whole principle of the bill.

But in the votes on the 47 major amendments offered in the House, such Republican leaders as Charles Halleck (Ind.), Clarence Brown (Ohio) and John Taber (N. Y.) were too often found in opposition to their party's own proposals.

Buffett claimed that Stalin was the real man behind the bill: "The Kremlin is thinking of every way possible how it can make America pour its resources across the ocean." Representative Andresen summed up the most popular opposition viewpoint: "Our country is not strong enough nor do we have resources enough to go out over the world and underwrite the needs of every country that is short of dollars."

Representative Walter Huber (D,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ohio), like many others, was worried most for fear we would not be given credit for our philanthropy: "There might be some advantage in limiting the relief supply to alphabet vegetable soup and using only those sections of the alphabet 'USA'," he suggested.

Representative John Davis Lodge (R, Conn.) warned that "if we fail to pass the bill Communists all over the world will be rejoicing." But Knutson argued that "if money would stop communism, you wouldn't have any now in Hollywood."

The heart of the fight in the House was on an attempt to limit relief goods to those things not now in short supply in the US. In other words, no grain, no fertilizer, no farm machinery, no petroleum products, no anything that is not running out of our ears. Here Farm Bureau-Southern Democrats took the lead. Representative Don Wheeler (D, Ga.) introduced the amendment which would have gutted the whole aid program. Representative John Bell Williams (D, Miss.) backed his move "to protect the American people," and Tom Abernathy (D, Miss.) added a companion amendment to make it even harder to send Europe any fertilizer.

Opposition. Members on both sides of the aisle sprang up in opposition. Representative Everett Dirksen (R, Ill.) told the House: "What we are saying to the world is that we are willing to share so long as it requires no sacrifice on our part. . . . The people of the United States are ahead of Congress on this program . . . they are far ahead of the petty argument that has been made on this floor."

Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) went further: "If we adopt this amendment I really do not see much point in passing the bill. If we put into this bill that nothing in short supply will be purchased [for Europe], every time the price of anything goes up in a store, they will say, 'you see,

IN PALESTINE AS IT WAS IN SPAIN

by William Walton

LONG AGO, before the world had heard of the Hurtgen Forest or Tarawa, the State Department, with smug allusions to impartiality, embargoed the shipment of arms to both contestants in the Spanish civil war. Thus Francisco Franco, armed by Hitler and Mussolini, was enabled to batter his ill armed opponents and all Spain into bloody submission.

Now the blight of State Department impartiality has fallen on the other end of the Mediterranean where Palestine is struggling for nationhood. The department haughtily imposed a ban on arms shipments to all nations of the Middle East. Such an embargo is as thoroughly pro-Arab as the Spanish embargo was pro-Franco 10 years ago.

Holy war? The reason is that new Palestine is essentially an unarmed nation, while her Arab neighbors, who already have threatened a holy war to exterminate the Jews, are heavily armed.

Arab arms come from Britain and the US. Since V-J Day the US has sold some $40 million worth of surplus arms and ammunition to Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the other Arab states. None has been sold to Palestine. And in addition the Arabs have obtained twice again as much military equipment from Britain, whose foreign minister has assured her customers that all present commitments will be fulfilled even if there is war in the Middle East.

The Jews have every reason to believe that partition means a war for which they are ill prepared. The nearest menace is the British-trained and British-officered army of Transjordan, whose ruler, Abdullah, was raised to sovereignty by the astute British only a year and a half ago. Abdullah's army is equipped with at least light tanks, artillery and the rest of the accouterments of modern warfare. Some of the other Arab states, such as Iraq and Egypt, are even better equipped with warplanes and supplies.

The Jews have no planes, tanks or artillery to meet this threat. Their heaviest equipment consists of mortars, machine guns and a few makeshift armored cars.

On manpower the Jewish position is somewhat better. The Irgun can furnish some 15,000 men with Commando-type training. And Haganah can furnish many more, though their training has been rather for home-guard work than for combat. In addition, if transportation is provided for the inhabitants of Europe's DP camps, Palestine will not lack for muscle power.

The immediacy of Jewish requirements became apparent this week as the British began evacuating the Tel Aviv area, turning over security arrangements to the Jews, who need at least 5,000 men for "police" work. To help fill the vacuum to be created by the full withdrawal of 70,000 British troops, there are several possible solutions. The one most easily within the power of the US would be withdrawal of its embargo. Then the Jews, who have responded to the United Jewish Appeal by raising hundreds of millions for Palestine, could buy the necessary supplies in the United States.

Solutions. For their part the British, as a gesture to show that bygones are bygones, could leave behind their arms to the newly independent Jews. Or, failing both of these earlier courses, the United Nations could follow up its courageous stand for Palestine partition by recognizing the Jews' need for protection while their new nation is being formed.

Only intervention of some kind can save the birth of Palestine, as all know who have the minds and hearts to remember Spain.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

if we did not send aid to Europe, the price would not be going up.' Thus, you will begin a hopeless political battle . . . on the eve of an election which will be based not on facts but on misinformation. Prices are high because we scrapped price controls."

Representative Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.) was howled down on an attempt to substitute a UN-administered program of $1.5 billion aid. Chester Merrow (R, N. H.) sought to increase the authorization to $661 million with little better results.

Toward the end, the Republicans dared a semi-official attack on the program they were supposedly sponsoring. Representative Lawrence Smith (R, Wis.), egged on by majority-leader Halleck, offered a proposal to cut the amount to $500 million.

There is no record on who did and who did not follow Smith and Halleck through the teller gate on this one—or on any of the other 46 proposed amendments—or even on the final vote on the bill. The Republican leadership preferred that all nose counting be without benefit of official record. But no roll-call vote is needed to tell what trouble is already brewing for ERP.

BIG JOHN'S NEXT MOVE

Exit. John L. Lewis once more pulled his United Mine Workers, 600,000 strong, into splendid isolation, with the curt, blue-crayoned note: "Green, AFL. We disaffiliate. Lewis."

From now on John L. will be fighting alone. There will be no "new alliance" with the CIO Left, which is too weak to pull any big unions out of the Murray line-up. Perhaps Bill Hutcheson and his AFL carpenters may follow the miners some day, but the chances are very faint.

The simplest explanation of why Big John has decided to become a "loner" for keeps is that he lost his grandiloquent claim to "moral leadership" of the AFL when its October convention rejected his advice on non-Communist affidavits (Lewis said not to sign). So the miners' boss picked up the marbles and walked out.

Target Practice

HOLLYWOOD'S "The Best Years of Our Lives," labeled Red during the Thomas House Un-American Activities Committee film probe because it depicted a banker as a "stuffed shirt," absorbed another stiff punch last week, this time from an easterly direction. A Moscow radio commentator blasted the movie as anti-Soviet, declaring that the heroes of the film "yearn for a new war."

Although there is some speculation that Lewis might try to build his catch-all District 50 into competition against the AFL and CIO, it is not likely he will make the effort. He is 67 years old and in poor health.

FAILURE WITH CREDIT

Checkup. When President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights issued its report on discrimination, a group of Montclair, New Jersey, citizens did more than read a few paragraphs and then forget. Using the report as a yardstick of community health, they proceeded to put their town through a stiff physical examination to see how it measured up.

Montclair (population 40,000) didn't pass. Six research committees, sponsored by the Montclair Forum and the American Veterans' Committee, arrived at basically the same conclusion: that the town's 6,800 Negroes live as semi-citizens in a community which discriminates against them in housing, education, employment, recreation, public health and access to public facilities.

Not all of the news was bad. Some 800 Montclair townsfolk, seated in a public-school auditorium, heard the investigators report that, despite its discriminatory customs, there is solid evidence that Montclair is making progress in the treatment of its Negro population. The results of the checkup:

¶ Education—The bad: On Montclair's staff of 256 teachers, only one Negro holds a full-time position. The good: There is no segregation in the junior and senior high schools.

¶ Housing—The bad: Of 170 realty deeds examined, 40 contained restrictive covenants barring Negroes, Jews and Italians. The good: The new veterans' housing project accepts tenants solely on the basis of "need."

¶ Employment—The bad: Private concerns as a rule employ Negroes only as laborers. The good: New Jersey Bell Telephone, Prudential Insurance and Westinghouse do not discriminate; nor do the town's Department of Public Works and Bureaus of Public Health and Nursing.

¶ Recreation—The bad: The YMCA is segregated. The good: Public Recreation Department activities are open to and used by persons of all races and creeds.

¶ Public Health—The bad: Negro doctors are not allowed to practise in the hospitals. The good: The hospitals employ Negro nurses.

¶ Public Facilities—The bad: Four eating establishments out of eight served a mixed Negro and white investigating group with "evidences of displeasure." One restaurant refused service entirely. The good: Three places served the group with courtesy.

In general, the report made unhappy reading. But on one important score Montclair emerged with credit. It had courageously exposed its own faults in an honest effort to correct them.

THE FAT FIFTY

"Fellow victims." When several congressmen last week complained that interim aid to Europe might mean food shortages and higher prices in this country, Representative Harold Cooley (D, N. C.) reminded them of a recent dinner for the "Foremost Fifty" business and industrial leaders at the Waldorf in New York. Magazine publisher B. C. Forbes wined and dined his 50 hand-picked leaders and some 800 lesser people at a cost of $12,000. Thomas E. Dewey as speaker greeted the 50 as "fellow victims of the New Deal."

"I could see," said Cooley, "why Dewey felt that he was a victim of the New Deal in view of his spectacular

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lack of success as a presidential candidate running against the great leader who gave the people of this country the New Deal. . . . But these 50 foremost businessmen, what has the New Deal done to them?

"These men," Cooley continued, "all seem to have pretty good jobs—like bossing the Chase National Bank or running a railroad or the US Steel Corporation. I checked around and got the salary figures of most of these gentlemen. Quite a few of them made more than $100,000 a year . . . [plus] additional compensation. . . .

"I figured that would buy a lot of medicine to ease the pain of being a victim of the New Deal. In fact, if I were all bruised up from being a so-called victim of the New Deal, I could think of no better cure than massaging my bruises with 100,000 nice crisp new $1 bills every year.

"Now if we are going to fuss about sending a little food to the starving people of Europe," he concluded, "I wonder what they will think . . . when they see the picture . . . of these rich and powerful, well fed and puffed-up 50 foremost gentlemen. . . ."

THOMAS EYES RADIO

Next. Representative J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.) is on the move again. With Hollywood in full retreat, the head of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is already laying the powder train to his next victim—the broadcasting business.

On his current proscription list are the four major radio networks—CBS, NBC, Mutual and ABC—with ABC apparently headed for the roughest treatment. Thomas has demanded, through the Federal Communications Commission, that the networks turn over to him records of the time that was given free to proponents and opponents of the Washington film hearings.

Thomas is particularly incensed, it seems, at ABC for what he seems to consider its unfriendly attitude toward the committee during the probe. ABC sold time to the Committee for the First Amendment, which lambasted Thomas severely on a series of Sunday-afternoon programs.

ABC is turning over to Thomas, along with the requested material, a gentle reminder that it sponsored speeches by Thomas himself and by James F. O'Neill, commander of the American Legion, for free.

Another radio net which may receive special scrutiny is Frank Stanton's CBS. Stanton recently blasted what he called the government's attempt to "inch up" on freedom of expression in the press, movies and radio—loose talk which fully qualifies him for a Thomas hotfoot.

RAZORPOLITIK

Cure. A Swedish surgeon has discovered a better way than the Marshall Plan to combat communism. Dr. Gosta Rylander, of the Swedish Royal Caroline Institute, reveals that a simple brain operation known as a "lobotomy" can transform radicals into people who like the way things are being run.

The operation, Rylander declared, will usually turn "depressed, introverted, self-occupied persons into slightly euphoric, extroverted, easy-going persons." He warns, however, that a patient may come off the operating table totally incapable of realizing the value of money.

TO THE LADIES

Dresses. Unless manufacturers discover how to make dresses out of burlap before next spring, only fancy pocketbooks will be able to afford the "new look" in 1948. New York dressmakers report that a manufacturers' scramble for rayon, the "queen fabric" of the dress industry, has driven its price up anywhere from 50 to 100 percent.

Dressmakers blame the lower hemline, which requires about 20 percent more cloth, for the rayon scarcity. One manufacturer declared he was paying speculators $1.35 for the same material that had cost him 58 cents a yard under the OPA last year.

Buyers for department stores say that a large share of these cost rises will be passed on to the ladies, who next year will pay 20 percent more for their Easter clothes.

CATHOLICS AND CHILDREN

Pioneer. Twenty-seven years ago, Hamportzoon Choolokian, an Armenian cobbler, left his native land to try his luck in the new world. He became an American citizen, married, raised a family and attended the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church.

But Choolokian found that the streets of the new world were not paved with gold. Soon he was living in a tenement in a New York slum. To make things worse, his wife became mentally ill and was committed to an institution. The father had no one to care for his children, so he placed them in Roman Catholic homes.

Choolokian visited his children regularly and contributed to their support. When some of the children were old enough not to require constant care, he brought them home. Sister Jean Marie, of the home which looked after his sons, said he was a "good father."

Return trip. About this time, the US and Russian governments (Armenia is now part of the Soviet Union) negotiated a repatriation agreement whereby Americans of Armenian descent could renounce their US citizenship and return to their native land. Among the hundreds who elected to do so was Choolokian. He made the necessary arrangements with the two governments. The New York Department of Mental Hygiene discharged his wife from Kings Park Hospital and delivered her to a doctor aboard the Soviet repatriation ship, *Rossia.*

Choolokian went to the City Department of Welfare, which had placed his sons, George, 12, and Albert, 11, in the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, and his daughter, Alice, six, in the New York Foundling Hospital. The department ordered the institutions to release the children.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rebuffs. But when Choolokian went to the Foundling Hospital, it refused to give him his daughter. He rushed to the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin and asked for his sons. Again, a refusal.

Late that night, Samuel M. Blinken, Choolokian's lawyer, obtained writs of habeas corpus in the New York Supreme Court. The next day in the courthouse, Justice J. Edward Lumbard Jr. asked: "Now, why do you wish to go back to Armenia?"

Choolokian replied, "I wish to go there because I got my whole family there. I bring my whole family. I going to very safe, very happy, and my kids going to be very happy and very safe there." He added that brothers, sisters and in-laws in Armenia would help him care for the family, which would not have to be broken up as it was here.

"Citizen's responsibility." But the institutions maintained through counsel that it would be "detrimental to the physical, mental, spiritual and educational welfare" of the children to take them to Russia, where the "system of law and education is wholly different" from that in the US.

Monsignor John J. Corrigan, director of the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, made the Church's position clear enough. "Do you think you have the right to bar them from going to Soviet Armenia?" Blinken asked him in court.

"As an American citizen," Monsignor Corrigan replied, "I believe I have. Our contention is that we have a responsibility to the children reposed in our care."

"Would you have the same objection if the father wanted to take these children to Spain?"

The priest did not reply directly.

"Isn't it a fact," asked Blinken, "that it is a Communist system that you object to?"

"I wouldn't hesitate to answer yes to that," Monsignor Corrigan said.

Justice Lumbard postponed the case. Choolokian, unable to turn back, sailed for Armenia with his wife and two other children.

After the French Strikes

PARIS (by wireless)

OFFICIAL FIGURES show the French cost-of-living index at 1,336, with the wages index at 651. This simple economic fact is also the most important political fact in France after the wave of strikes. It means that the Communists will regain the losses they suffered in the strikes unless workers get wages on which they can live, inflation is curbed and food distributed fairly.

Even these figures give only part of an economic picture growing ever blacker for French workers. Rations go unhonored while the black market flourishes. Butter, sold for ration coupons only in the rarest cases, can be bought openly for 1,300 francs a kilo—half of a worker's week's earnings. Meat, taken off rations because of right-wing agitation against controls, costs 300 francs a pound and few workers can afford any of it. Only children, invalids, expectant mothers and the old get any milk at all.

Yet there is plenty of food in restaurants without coupons, for prices ranging from 350 francs in suburban bistros to 1,000 in fashionable town places. The ordinary French working-class housewife manages only by making the most of bread, potatoes and vegetables. Of course, there is a food shortage in France as there is in most of Europe. But the real trouble is that successive French governments have failed to ensure for the workers those minimum guarantees which the British Labor Government put first on its program and created by refusing to yield to right-wing pressure against controls.

French workers voluntarily gave up the 40-hour week and, putting in an extra eight hours, raised production all of this year in most key industries. But inflation made them poorer than ever and now they see inflation and the black market already taking away the minor gains they won in the recent strikes.

At the same time, the better-off middle classes and those with hoarded wealth resist controls and measures that would give higher wages some degree of permanence in relation to prices. Instead, they look on the Marshall Plan as a way of saving themselves and keeping France from facing her deepest problem, which is created neither by Moscow nor by Washington.

The trouble is that none of the political parties which depend on the votes of the peasants or middle classes will come out for economic measures to force the peasants to deliver more food to the legal markets or make the middle classes accept necessary sacrifices. So long as the US gives a blank check to these parties, the victory over the Communists won during the strikes will be temporary and inconclusive.

CARREFOUR

"I got the new weekly bread ration, but I can't remember which pocket I put it in. . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ADA POLICY STATEMENT

THE AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION has published a detailed statement of its foreign policy: "Toward Total Peace." It establishes the ADA's position as the left wing of the Truman Administration; accepting the Administration's assumption that the USSR is an expansionist power bent on world domination; approving the basic State Department approach, but disagreeing with several aspects of the government's foreign policy.

The ADA lists several major factors influencing American foreign policy. The last is the world economic crisis. Others include the contraction of the British Empire, the need for social revolution, the expansion of the USSR and the role of the United Nations.

"The United Nations," the report states, "is not a global panacea; it cannot work miracles. Its limitations must be faced. The existence of these limitations does not mean that we should therefore denounce the UN as useless and kick it to pieces. But it does mean that we cannot delude ourselves into regarding the UN as a substitute for individual effort or as an escape from our national sense of responsibility. . . . We must remember that the best way to increase the power of the UN is not . . . to load it with burdens which will break it down into two sullen and hostile camps. It may sometimes be necessary even to take action outside the UN in order to serve the essential purposes of the Charter."

America's job. The report maintains that world government is necessary for peace. But: "Until the USSR changes its attitudes toward the world, the creation of any such authority is plainly impossible."

On the USSR, the ADA report adds: "We do not regard war as inevitable, and we reject all proposed US policies which rest on a single theory of Soviet malignance or of Soviet benevolence. We affirm the necessity for working with the Russians whenever they show any willingness to work with us. The situation is flexible; the Russian reaction will depend in considerable part on what we ourselves do. We must therefore have a policy of our own, based on democratic needs and values, a policy compatible with any extreme interpretation of Soviet intentions. It should aim at countering Soviet expansion by removing the conditions of want and chaos which invite this expansion. . . ."

Fallacies. In the strategy of our present foreign policy, the ADA sees five fundamental fallacies:

1. *The fallacy of believing that military containment is enough.* "The guarantee of freedom from external aggression is essential, but it is just the beginning of a policy. . . . The only enduring way to check totalitarianism at its source is to check the conditions which produce it. . . ."

2. *The fallacy of soliciting any and all allies in an unlimited crusade against communism.* "Franco may be reliably anti-Communist, but his form of totalitarianism, if backed by the US, would drive the common people of Europe into the arms of Russia. The greatest opportunity for Communist penetration in Asia would arise from unqualified military support of Chiang Kai-shek."

3. *The fallacy of trying to impose capitalism on the rest of the world.* "If the people of Britain, for example, vote freely and peacefully in favor of socialism, we cannot thwart their democratically expressed wishes by blackmailing their government. This is intervention nearly as intolerable as the Russian. . . ."

4. *The fallacy of assuming that fascism is dead.* "Military victory is not enough to destroy fascism. The seeds of fascism lie deep in social hatred and economic chaos. . . . The deepening of economic distress, the frightening aggressions of communism, may restore it to power. . . . We therefore favor the prosecution, through the UN, of economic measures against Spain to hasten the overthrow of the Franco government. We favor the extension of US support to the exiled government."

5. *The fallacy of a catch-as-catch-can program.* "Improvisation in response to crisis is not enough. . . . This time we should use our wealth and power to restore the world economy as a whole."

Truman Doctrine. The ADA supported US action in Greece and Turkey and still supports it, on the theory that it stems directly from Roosevelt's "quarantine of aggressors" speech at Chicago in 1937. "If the Truman Doctrine does mean unconditional support of all anti-Communists, American progressives would, of course, oppose it. If it means only that the US proposes to support countries menaced by external aggression, American progressives would, of course, back it up. It is our view that events failed to bear out the first interpretation."

Marshall Plan. The ADA finds the Marshall Plan the climax of our foreign policy in which we may all take pride. "It answers the demands of those critics who have called so long and so correctly for an affirmative American foreign policy." It accepts the Marshall thesis that we must restore to economic health all European nations willing to coöperate, including Russia.

On subordinate Marshall Plan questions the ADA states:

1. *Administration* in Europe should be handled by mechanisms resembling the wartime Combined Boards and the European Coal Organization. "We should insist on the creation of a customs union and a financial clearing house. We should further, and not oppose, the international planning of such industries as coal and steel and transport." On the issue of US administration, the ADA advocates merely that "purchases [be] controlled by a government agency in this country," and that the US be "repre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sented in the [European] organizations contemplated and have full access to all necessary information."

2. *Controls* are the answer. "Allocations can cut down the grain going into beverages, reduce our waste of bread, raise the extraction rate. Regulations can cut out speculation. Rationing of meat can save our grain from our animals and make it available to the hungry humans of Europe. Price control can ease the inequities visited on those with low or fixed incomes. . . ."

3. *Congress* must immediately authorize the full amount of the Marshall Plan and appropriate the funds for its first year.

4. *Tariffs* must be cut to enable European nations to earn dollars in the US.

5. *Full employment* must be maintained in the US to implement the Marshall Plan.

6. *East-West trade in Europe* is necessary to the success of the US policy. "We cannot now counteract the political division of Europe into East and West by diplomatic means," but we should "see to it that loans are made to them [satellites of Russia] either directly or through the International Bank to provide the necessary production aids—provided we can get assurance that the normal East-West trade in Europe will be revived."

7. *Germany.* "Western Germany must be able to pay its own way by 1952. . . . We must act as the Western nations request us to act, as an occupying power in coöperation with them, to solve the primary problems of Germany's coal and steel. . . . The coal miners and the people of the Ruhr communities have expressed themselves democratically in favor of nationalization of the mines. Certainly, as an occupying power, we must make it clear that the mines will never be restored to the selfish group of private interests who supported the war. . . . With respect to German steel production . . . increase the output in both Germany and France, giving France a head start, but placing both industries at a level of 12.7 million tons a year each in 1951."

Back to Prewar in the USSR

by Alexander Kendrick

MOSCOW (by wireless)

THE RUMORS and the panicky implications of the "Voice of America" broadcasts were wrong. There is nothing the matter with the Soviet economic system.

To proclaim a complete end of rationing—food, clothing, shoes—and at the same time to lower prices to one-third of their previous level at a time like this in Europe's history, speaks not only of good harvests and increased industrial production, but of basic soundness and toughness that must be disconcerting to fanatical worshipers of free enterprise.

Peacetime basis. But there is an additional significance to the December 14 Soviet economic decree. Now most of the vestiges of a wartime economy have been liquidated, and the Soviet Union has put itself almost completely on a peacetime basis, economically speaking.

Actually, derationing, price reduction and currency reform are much less of a surprise inside the Soviet Union than elsewhere. They emerge logically from the Soviet postwar domestic policy, which has been to get back to prewar conditions as rapidly as possible.

All during 1947, new stores have been opening throughout the country in anticipation of a return to the free sale of goods at low prices. The former wide gap between commercial prices and rationed prices was considerably lessened last year, and now it is abolished altogether.

Moscow's dual-price system has made it difficult to estimate purchasing power and real wages. Not everyone had the same ration, and many types of important foodstuffs had to be bought at high commercial prices. Now this is eliminated.

Alexander Kendrick is the Chicago Sun-Times Moscow correspondent.

The new price levels for all foods—meats, fats, sugar, potatoes, milk, eggs, tea—are stabilized at former ration-price levels, while bread is cut to 12 percent and cereals to 10 percent below ration-price levels. This means that everything can be bought on a supply-and-demand basis, and in as extensive an assortment and as large a quantity as was possible formerly in the commercial shops—but at one-third the price.

Since wages remain where they were, this is a sizable overnight increase in the purchasing power of the ruble.

Shoes, woolens and other consumer goods also go off the ration list, and will sell for one-third of their former commercial prices.

As for the currency reform, that is aimed mainly at speculators who thrived on the dual-price system and amassed large sums. Usually these didn't go into the bank, so those caught with large amounts of cash on hand will lose 90 percent of their hoardings. On the other hand, those who put their money in savings banks receive premiums, considering the lowered prices, in getting a one-for-one exchange. Savings-bond holders, getting a three-to-one exchange, just about break even or a little better, because the wartime rubles with which they bought their bonds were worth much less than the new currency.

Confidence. The last time rationing was lifted was in January, 1935. Today, there seems to be supreme confidence here that no matter how tense the international situation may be, war threats need not and will not be translated into war. If this proves to be the case, then the years directly ahead are going to make even the golden days of 1935-38 seem pale by comparison.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRY WALLACE:

TWO MONTHS AGO I stood in the stable where Christ was born. I looked out over the hills where the shepherds kept their sheep and heard the joyous tidings, "Peace on earth, Good will toward men." I was standing on ground that had witnessed the bitter struggles that had been carried on by the Crusaders and Moslems in the name of religion in times past.

Today blood is again being shed in the Holy Land. And one may well ask whether the various religions have brought more peace to the world or more strife. My definition of religion, I should add, is that which commands the allegiance of the whole man to a power that is outside of himself.

The essence of Christ's teachings is Peace and the bringing of the Kingdom of Heaven to earth. Christianity in action over the centuries has meant war rather than peace. Scarcely a decade has gone by without some nation spilling blood in the name of Christ. Tens of millions of men have died believing that they were dying for Christ. Millions of Christians have killed one another in the name of Christianity.

Christianity now faces the greatest challenge in its history.

It will inevitably go under unless it is able to convince non-Christians that it is based on a philosophy of action and not merely of passive ideas; based, that is, on true democracy and peace. Christianity must carry this conviction to the colored races, which comprise more than two-thirds of the world's population, most of whom follow faiths of their own—powerful and living faiths.

Today organized Christianity stands before the world with the brand of hypocrisy upon it. The virus which has tainted Christianity is the same as that which has tainted Anglo-Saxon democracy.

Christianity and democracy are not supposed to be practised merely among members of Christian communities, but between those communities and the other peoples of the world. I very much question whether a person can be a true Christian or a real democrat if he belongs to a church—or to any other group—which excludes people from membership on any arbitrary ground.

If the Anglo-Saxon peoples decline in importance during the last half of the twentieth century, it will be because they have failed to apply Christianity and democracy in their dealings with all the peoples of the world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORTH REPRINTING

THE ATTENTIVE READER of English letters during the middle 1930's became gradually aware of a small but striking and significant group of young writers. The emergence of Auden, Spender, Cecil Day Lewis and Isherwood was, in effect, a surprise attack on complacent upper-middle-class standards, political and social as well as literary. A polemical element appeared like a common denominator in the poems, plays, essays, novels and short stories of these four young men; and as the body of their work became more substantial, the question of their background and relationship become more insistent. Christopher Isherwood's autobiographical novel, *Lions and Shadows* (New Directions; $3), is an authentic and entertaining answer to this question.

The last of Mr. Isherwood. *Lions and Shadows* opens with Isherwood at school, himself somewhat puzzled and amazed at the problems posed by his Cambridge scholarship exams; but so valiantly aided and abetted in his approach to these by Holmes—a friendly, knowing and cynical master in his school—that his marks earned him an £80 scholarship at Cambridge. Following a brief and richly comic interlude abroad, with Holmes as guide and mentor, Isherwood entered his university.

Finding himself faced with his first Tripos papers, Isherwood deliberately flunked this test with an impudence and a diabolical ingenuity that terminated his university career in a flurry of official fury. He became thereafter secretary to a string quartet in London, a tutor in the country and a student of medicine, registering a confidently expected failure in all three vocations; and we see the last of Mr. Isherwood as he enters a train en route to Berlin—doubtless the same train in which he first became acquainted with that preposterous and ingratiating scoundrel, Arthur Norris.

There is a sharp distinction to be drawn between the performer of these irresponsible and neurotic antics and the recorder of them. The young Isherwood was a fantastic escapist, victim of an enemy cult, on the verge of a persecution mania; the adult Isherwood, author of *Lions and Shadows,* is an ironic observer of such sinister, juvenile phenomena, able to order this dubious welter of material into a coherent narrative and in terms of high comedy. In less skillful hands, the substratum of sophisticated imbecilities on which this novel is based would have remained tenuous and formless. It is Isherwood's special distinction that he has welded refractory characters and improbable events into a smooth and credible tale, cast in a pleasing form and endued with the animating power of a vigorous and original imagination.

TERENCE HOLLIDAY

Crime and Punishment

In a Lonely Place, by Dorothy B. Hughes (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $2.50). The current crop of books about compulsive killers gets a hair-raising addition in this study of an ex-war ace who has already accounted for six young women without leaving the Los Angeles police a clue. But the murderer couldn't resist the thrill of sitting in on the manhunt—his best friend is one of the detectives—which proves to be a fatal error. While no "latter-day *Crime and Punishment,*" as the jacket blurb claims, Mrs. Hughes's novel is an absorbing excursion into pathology.

Murder Miscellany. – A Hair of the Dog, by Jean Leslie (Crime Club; $2), is a fairly engrossing item for those who like their murders with a smile; *The Sugarplum Staircase,* by Richard English (Simon and Schuster; $2), offers a moderately happy compromise between psychiatry and fun-in-detection. But *Over the Line,* by Alec Coppel (Crime Club; $2), and *The Accomplice,* by Matthew Head (Simon and Schuster; $2.50), will plunge the unwary reader straight into the Land of the Great Bats—drive up the wagon, Professor; I'll go quietly. All the sadder, because Head's first book—*The Smell of Money*—was the detective find of 1943. E. H.

RADIO

Good Work on Wax

WHAT this country's radio needs is a good, five-cent slot machine: If people had to pay for listening to the radio, the way they do for movies or the legitimate theater, they'd appreciate it much more.

Within the last few months, I have piled up a list of more than two dozen transcribed programs that have received, and are now getting, considerable play over local stations around the country. In most instances, these are not just single shows, but series that have been booked for regular weekly airings over periods ranging from 13 weeks to 26 weeks, and even for an entire year. The majority feature famous Hollywood or stage stars; most of them are written by radio's most conscientious scripters and given top production; nearly every one of them unfolds a dramatic situation on a par with the very best achieved by contemporary films or stage plays.

But just as broadcasters suffer from an inferiority complex, so listeners have been conditioned to an attitude of snobbishness toward the product put on the air by those broadcasters. Intelligent listeners will protest radio's empty-headedness while tuned to (and enjoying) a famous comedian. If the same listener turned his dial an inch, he might pick up a YMCA show on conditions in China or an equally good program on discrimination done by the Institute for Democratic Education.

For anyone interested in such shows, I have a list which I shall be glad to furnish. It includes the following two transcriptions that I have just heard.

Coast-to-coast. Only four or five times in the history of American radio have all four of the coast-to-coast networks collaborated on a single show. One of the new transcriptions is such a four-network production. Copies of the transcription have been furnished to every one of the national network

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

affiliates in the country—about 1,000 stations in all. Each station may play the show in its own good time.

This show, called "Let Truth Be Known," gave me a few uneasy moments after I heard it. But I realized that I was being bothered by the auspices under which the show was done, rather than by its dramatic content or showmanship. Those auspices are not only the four major networks, but the Advertising Council.

This is not the place for a dissertation on American advertising. The Advertising Council is an organization financed by "American business"—including advertising agencies, sponsors, etc.—whose business it is to show that the admen have a heart. It's through the Advertising Council as a central clearing house that broadcasters and publishers, as well as the big national advertisers, devoted time and space during the war to plug all kinds of worthy causes from recruitment of nurses to the sale of bonds. Now the Council is using its techniques to sell increased interest in basic American principles. "Let Truth Be Known" is part of this campaign.

The story of the show illustrates how radio and other forms of advertising have helped make some people aware that they must take a greater interest in important issues like the local educational system, the existence of anti-Semitism, the importance of the First Amendment, or the slogan "Food can save the peace." Of course there is nothing in the show about the fact that advertising also oversells soap and too often undersells intelligence. But what is there is superbly done.

A four-network committee picked the writer, Arnold Perl, who stands today as perhaps the top radio documentarist. The direction was put into the hands of Mitchell Grayson, who produced the latest series of documentaries, those on children, aired over Mutual. Special music was scored and conducted by John Gart, who did outstanding work with Grayson and Perl on those Mutual shows. Van Heflin is the narrator, and he is backed by an extraordinarily large and unusually capable cast of radio regulars. If you can go along with me in ignoring the Advertising Council's self-praise, you may want to give this show a big hand when it airs over your local station.

The homeless. The second transcription that I heard in preparation for this session of the seminar is called "Displaced." Like "Let Truth Be Known," it is a half-hour show, but the auspices are easier for me to take. Produced by an organization called the Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons, it humanizes those people tabbed with that horrible "DP" label. Paul Muni is the star.

"Displaced" dramatizes the case history of a real person, a musician named Kurt Meyer whose mother and sister were cremated by the Nazis. Meyer lived on, after a fashion, because the Nazi concentration-camp commander, a sentimental soul, loved sad music and kept Meyer to play it. The committee's aim, I understand, is to help push for enactment of the Stratton bill, which provides for the admission into the US of 400,000 immigrants over a four-year period.

Bias. There has been gratifying reader response to my suggestion that I'd like to know whether you are for or against revocation of the Federal Communications Commission's Mayflower rule. One reader, Richard Henry, of Fostoria, Ohio, argues with me for two and a half pages of closely typed copy. Henry is for allowing broadcasters to editorialize on the air —as long as they keep editorialization out of their newscasts.

But Bernard Schein, of Aberdeen, Maryland, will not trust the right of editorialization to broadcasters precisely because, he says, they juggle the news to fit their own opinions. The way Schein heard his radio, here is what happened the night after President Truman asked Congress to halt inflation: "The news broadcasts gave 90 percent of their time to what Senator Taft said in rebuttal to the President; five percent to Republican comments on Taft's 'message'; and five percent to Truman's meaty proposal. Was that unbiased? The best ammunition you can gather against unhampered editorialization over the radio is furnished by such facts."

The facts will be spread before the FCC when the public hearing on the Mayflower decision comes up. That hearing has been postponed to March 1. The FCC has had the good sense to invite many organizations and interested individuals (including radio critics) to testify. Those who are not yet on the list have until December 31 to apply. SAUL CARSON

Strike Vote

Radio Row swims in gold. You have heard of writers who get $3,000 a week, actors who receive $7,500 for a single performance, half-hour programs that cost the sponsor $2,500 a week. But this is also true:

A sustaining program recently produced by one of our big networks cost $36,000. The director—who by definition of the network's own personnel department performs duties of a "professional, creative or 'responsible character"—received exactly $100 a week.

In another instance, a director holds the reins on three programs, two of which he created, involving talent costs totaling $8,000 per week. His salary—and he works six days a week—is $105 per week, $5 above the scale fixed in contract between the network and the Radio Directors' Guild (AFL).

The RDG's New York chapter proposes to end that kind of inequality. Its two-year network contract expires December 31. Unable to get to any sensible bargaining position with the networks, the New York chapter has just voted on a strike proposal. The decision to strike was unanimous.

Two other radio unions voted to strike in the last year. They are the American Federation of Radio Artists and the Radio Writers' Guild. In the end, it was unnecessary for either union to walk out. If the RDG has to strike, directors of at least 90 percent of the radio programs originating in New York—including all sustainers and most commercials—will be on the picket line. You won't hear much of the radio you're accustomed to if these arm-wavers and cue-throwers are forced to put their threat into effect. S. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUSINESS: Strategic Retreat

BIG BUSINESS has abdicated. At the annual NAM convention (called, for public-relations reasons, the Congress of American Industry) in New York earlier this month, one industrialist after another took the rostrum to confess that business couldn't do anything about the present price situation.

This is important news. Little more than a year ago the NAM advertised that—*if price controls were removed*—business would expand production and drive prices right through the floor. Now the NAM—in the person of president Earl Bunting—calls on government, on labor, even on starving Europe to save the country from the bread lines. They want the government to *reduce* everything: spending, taxes, debt, bonds held by banks. They want labor to *forgo* wage increases and restrictions on speed-ups. They want the relief agencies to *be considerate,* to take more private loans, and—most arrogant proposal of all—to have no traffic with socialism in even its mildest forms.

Who's kidding who? The most illuminating facet of this whole performance is that even the NAM's best friends couldn't swallow it. Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the New York *World-Telegram,* who usually gives the impression of being in the NAM family, observed that: "They seem almost totally blind when they take the trouble, which is not too often, to look at themselves," and adds, with uncommon candor for the Scripps-Howard press, "Perhaps it would be bad tactics for industry to admit frankly to the public that some members have taken advantage of the shortages to raise prices."

Yes, this would have weakened their position quite a bit. It would have been still more damaging to put a candid microphone in the carpeted corridors of the Waldorf-Astoria and hear, as I did, NAM members laughing up their sleeves at their own program. Obviously, the program wasn't meant to be taken seriously. The NAM knows as well as you and I do that we cannot cut taxes by $7 billion and still have enough to reduce the debt by $2.5 billion and help our friends abroad. They know it is contradictory to call for more venture capital, while at the same time advocating higher interest rates which would make it more costly for business to borrow for expansion.

And they know that any wholesale raising of the interest rate would send the market for government bonds into a tailspin that might really jeopardize the holdings of the widows, orphans and charitable institutions which the NAM always professes to cherish.

Double talk. How could a group of self-anointed big-business leaders talk for three days without a single discussion of price-profit-wage relationships? They pontificated about more capital for expansion, but never discussed the steel famine or how it would be affected by the 15 mills that took almost three million tons of raw steel off the market last year, diverting it to specialized high-profit purposes.

They applauded J. Howard Pew, whose Sun Oil Company raised its prices for the second time in six weeks. But they had no time for Eugene Holman of the Standard Oil Company (of New Jersey), who has done a signal job of resisting price advances and who might have repeated to them what he said in a recent statement: "Price advances won't stimulate production; so further price hikes will have an inflationary effect. The real bottlenecks in production are not costs but shortages of construction and drilling materials."

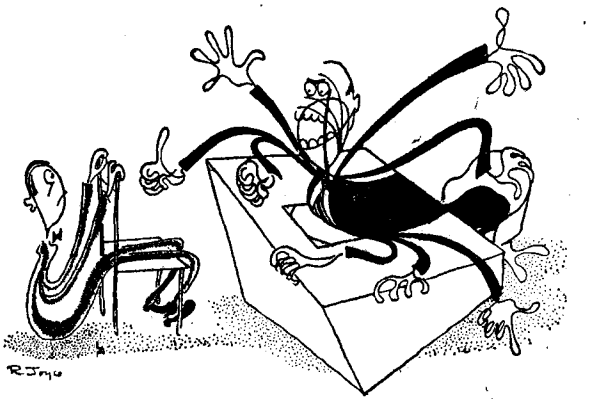
Why did the NAM ignore the facts of life and expose itself to the criticisms of even its best friends and dearest members? The answer is, of course, that this program is aimed at the public, at the uncritical country press, at the women's clubs, clergymen, teachers' organizations and veterans' groups which were invited to dine at the NAM table and feast on its balderdash.

Accident insurance. Business fears that people will again turn to the government and demand something approaching an effective program of controls or allocations. The way the NAM proposes to stop effective government action is by confusing the public. It's an old public-relations principle, when you haven't anything to say, to say so many conflicting things that you fill the air with doubts and hesitations. Then, whatever is done will be half-hearted, and you have at least half-won a lost battle.

But the clearest thing that you picked up at the NAM meeting was the conviction that the boys are planning for the coming depression. The NAM takes the position that business is economically impotent and the depression inevitable. So they are starting now to blame the depression on government, labor and foreign relief. On anybody and everybody, in short, except big business.

That is the meaning of the NAM program. It's not to stop inflation; it's to protect business from the public wrath. And if the break does come, business will need protecting.

HAROLD WOLFF



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FARM: Struggle for Power

ELECTRIC-POWER COMPANIES are to blame for the rural power shortage. Time after time they have prevented farmers from obtaining needed electric service by refusing to extend power lines into sparsely populated sections, and they have fought every government effort that has ever been made to bring cheap power to farmers. They fought the Rural Electrification Administration from the very beginning; they opposed the building of dams which would bring cheap power and water to farmers in dry areas and they have put pressure on Congress and state legislatures to deny electric coöperatives the right to build their own generating plants and transmission lines.

The most recent activity of the power lobby was the testimony, presented at hearings before the House Surplus War Property Subcommittee, on the sale of the government-owned Chouteau, Oklahoma, electric-steam plant to the Grand River Dam Authority. The steam plant was put up for sale by the War Assets Administration. The Public Service Company of Oklahoma bid $2.5 million, and the Grand River Dam Authority offered $3.5 million.

As soon as the Public Service Company found out that the GRDA's bid was higher, its officials set up a great howl that the bidding was unfair, that sale to the authority was socialistic and that it would like to have the bids reopened so it could raise its offer. This situation was called to the attention of Representative Ross Rizley (R, Okla.), chairman of the Surplus War Property Subcommittee, who started the investigation on December 3, apparently in the hope of putting the heat on the War Assets Administration in order to throw out the GRDA bid and sell to the Public Service Company.

Rizley suggested several times that the sale of power by public agencies was against the policy of Congress. When a witness said that sale to the

GRDA would be for the benefit of all the people, he replied that operation of power plants by public authorities might eventually put private electric utilities out of business completely.

Witnesses for the Public Service Company denounced the government-built plants as unfair competition; and attacked the validity of the Oklahoma statute which authorized the creation of the GRDA. The attorney for the PSC hinted that legal action would be taken to stop the sale.

Crippling tactics. Utility companies in other states are trying to prevent farmers from obtaining power. Last summer the Alabama Electric Coöperative was for a time blocked by the Alabama Power Company. The company at first refused to sell its power to the co-op at all. Then when the coöperative made a survey and submitted plans to the REA to obtain an allocation for the construction of a steam-generating plant, the company made an offer to sell its power at high rates. When the coöperative still went ahead, the company lowered its rates to about what it would cost the co-op to generate its own power.

These are old tactics. Power companies lower rates only when competition forces them to do so. That is why the utilities and reactionary congressmen fight so hard against government money being used for electric power.

During the first session of this Congress a long string of bills was introduced to cripple co-ops and deny cheap power to farmers. One of the worst of these is Representative George A. Dondero's (R, Mich.) bill (HR 3036), which will probably be reported favorably out of committee around the first of the year. This bill would prevent the sale of power from War Department dams except at the dam and would transfer the marketing of electricity now handled by the Department of Interior to the War Department. If this bill is enacted, the only way that co-ops could obtain power from War Department dams would be to build transmission lines up to the source. Unfortunately co-ops do not have the capital required for such construction.

Power and water. During the first session this year power lobbyists were instrumental in reducing REA loan funds from $250 to $225 million for this fiscal year (July 1, 1947, to June 30, 1948). Due to the great increase in demand for electricity, this sum has proved entirely inadequate, and the REA program has bogged down.

The utilities put pressure on Congress to slow down work on needed hydro-electric-power projects. Bureau of Reclamation officials tell me that the Central Valley, California, and the Colorado-Big Thompson projects will be out of money by the first of next year; Grand Coulee shortly after the first; and Davis Dam by next spring. According to Bureau of Reclamation estimates, if these projects are kept going, 333,000 additional acres can be brought into production in 1948, and under an accelerated program five million acres can be brought into production by the end of 1952. That would produce a cumulative total of 28 million tons of food during the next five years.

Today more than one-third of the American farmers have no electricity, and millions of other farmers have an insufficient supply or have to pay such high rates that they can't economically operate power equipment.

The policy of the private companies is to electrify only heavy-population areas, where they can obtain a higher profit on their capital, and it seems to me common sense that Congress should appropriate money so that electricity may be brought to every farm in the nation. ANGUS MCDONALD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOVIES: Set to Music

"LA SYMPHONIE FANTASTIQUE" is a mawkish stereotype of a picture which will get more attention than it deserves because Jean-Louis Barrault, star of "Les Enfants du Paradis," plays the part of Hector Berlioz.

The film is a garret-to-glory chronicle that unfolds like a page of hack program notes. Berlioz composes in that state of exhilaration known only to the special melodrama of genius—on one occasion, plagued by insomnia and a high wind, he whips off an entire symphony (fully scored) at one sitting. At other times, he indulges such eccentricities of talented behavior as breaking up a symphony concert, leaping into the carriage of a strange young lady, and threatening publishers unimpressed by his work. He is surrounded, off and on, by Victor Hugo, Delacroix, Dumas and similar famous buddies, who look remarkably like extras in beards.

On the strength of his performance in "Les Enfants du Paradis" Barrault was "discovered" in this country as the first great postwar actor to appear from Europe. The picture was superb, and Barrault, who is a fine mime, a fine dancer, and possessed of one of the most arrogantly beautiful faces of the day, achieved in it an undeniable personal triumph.

In "La Symphonie Fantastique" he is not nearly so good, and that may mean either that the best of actors can't surmount a conspiracy of banality and implausibility, or that what we took for great acting was only a great act. It is still too soon to tell; the first film was made precisely to Barrault's specialized talents and romantic appearance; the second was made for no one on earth. His characterization of Berlioz does not attempt at all to portray the man; it is only Barrault ringing changes on his extraordinarily articulate emotional equipment. It was probably the wisest course he could take in the circumstances, but it leaves the acting question open.

Song and dance. Jimmy Durante, who is certainly no actor but who has the most ingratiating act in the theater today, is available again in "This Time for Keeps." The Durante personality has by now been refined to such a point of endearing perfection that you are tempted to catalogue the elements of incongruity, pathos, wit, satire, ribaldry, slapstick that go into the formula. The exercise is pointless, though, for even if you isolated all the factors, you could never put them together again into anything like Durante. It's indescribable, that's what it is.

With him on this excursion are Esther Williams, very beautiful in an amphibious sort of way, Johnnie Johnston, who seems to have learned his nice boyish manners from Bing Crosby, Xavier Cugat with band, Lauritz Melchior and Dame May Whitty. The last two act a little like the society folk who endorse all kinds of commercial products these days, but Durante treats them quite as though they belonged to the profession.

M-G-M, which brought out "This Time for Keeps," released "Good News" almost simultaneously. This is the old collegiate musical with the spectacular score—"Varsity Drag," "Lucky in Love," "Good News," "The Best Things in Life." The songs are still good, but there seem to be awfully long stretches between them.

Etymology. In his latest release, "Captain Boycott," J. Arthur Rank is betting on the public demand to know how words get into the language.

Most of us, if the question came up at all, would be content to learn that an Irish landlord by the name of Boycott was so outrageously abusing

Send a Christmas Present for Democracy

GIVE SO THEY CAN LIVE THIS WINTER Share your Christmas cheer with an unknown friend overseas—one of the sick and hungry survivors of the concentration camps. Spanish exiles, Austrian, French, German and other victims of the Nazis face a cheerless Christmas and a bitter winter.

SEND A CARE FOOD PARCEL Now only $10. Start a Marshall plan of your own. Adopt a family and send food directly or contribute for food and medicine. This is a simple and direct way to aid our allies for a better world.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

303 FOURTH AVENUE, ROOM 516, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

ISRAEL FEINBERG, *Chairman* ROY L. REUTHER, *Treasurer* PHIL HELLER, *Director*

☐ Send me the name and address of an anti-fascist and shipping instructions.

☐ Enclosed find a contribution of $_____ for CARE food packages.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE___ STATE_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his farm tenants back in the 1880's that they revolted and, under the guidance of the saintly Parnell, gave him the silent treatment. This picture is for the few whose enthusiasm for linguistic origins will repay them for sitting through two hours of clichés in heavy brogue to assimilate further details.

Stewart Granger leads the peasantry and wins the girl; Alastair Sim plays a conspiratorial priest as though he'd just read the "Green for Danger" press notices. He's a good bit too smug in such large doses. R. L. H.

THEATER: Masterpiece

As far as I'm concerned, even the ushers and ticket-takers at the Ethel Barrymore Theater are beautiful these nights, and the cop on the corner of Forty-seventh Street and Eighth Avenue, and his horse. Such is the effect of a magnificent play, magnificently done. The play is "A Streetcar Named Desire," by Tennessee Williams, and the production is the result of Elia Kazan's direction, Jo Mielziner's scenery and lighting and, I suppose, Irene Selznick's money, all of which have my unqualified blessing.

The play is better than Williams' other success, "The Glass Menagerie," because, while it has all of the tenderness, poetry, observation and wit of the earlier piece, it adds the element of true tragedy to its other merits.

Fable. It is a despairing and lovely play, in which the author, in oblique parable form, says that beauty is shipwrecked on the rock of the world's vulgarity; that the most sensitive seekers after beauty are earliest and most bitterly broken and perverted. It is an answer, however unintended, to "Harvey" and "The Iceman Cometh," which said that Illusion provides the necessary armor behind which life can survive. "A Streetcar Named Desire" (and what a haunting, musically dissonant title it is) tells us that Illusion is an armor, but one which is always pierced, and in the most mortal spots.

But the parable is hidden artfully in the body of the play. While you are exposed to the magic on the Barrymore stage, you see only the suffering, doomed struggles of a lying, posing, half-demented, pathetic, fully drawn woman, whose dreams are all lace and magnolia, and whose life, given cheaply to whisky and men, has been unbelievably raw and sordid. You may think, as I do, that Williams' generalization is too easily defeatist, that he himself has dipped into the most squalid depths and come up with a steadily beautiful work of art; but, particularly, there is an awesome credibility about the character of his main creation, Blanche du Bois. She is as real to us as if she were a living woman put to the torture and done to death in our own front parlor.

Language of life. The play is written with a triumphantly heightened naturalism, in which the rhythms and images of ordinary life are subtly combined and contrasted with a verselike elegance of phrase. It falls on the ear like fresh rain after the businesslike tracts of manufactured dialogue which have too long done duty for human speech on the American stage. It finally has the surprising effect of seeming infinitely more real, more like life itself, than all the clipped banalities lesser playwrights put together in the dreary name of realism.

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS

The production matches the script point for point. Absolutely arbitrary, with a back wall through which we can see the street beyond, with a steel staircase spiraling off to one side, going God-knows-where, with lights softly growing in intensity and capriciously fading off into darkness, with a spotlight lovingly following the heroine throughout the evening, with voices and music breaking in again and again with no reasonable justification but thunderous effect, the director and scene designer have boldly realized that a world on the stage has exactly the limits, the beauty and the belief that the artist wishes them to have.

In his direction Kazan has caught the combination of Southern, rambling languor, slashed by moments of blazing violence, that the play calls for. In the same way, Jo Mielziner has designed a setting that is at once sordid, ugly, dreamlike and glorious.

Acting power. Jessica Tandy, in the heroic role of Blanche, suffers only from the fact that some seasons back we all saw Laurette Taylor in another Williams play. Everything that talent, intelligence, discipline can do, Miss Tandy does. We pity her, we are amused by her, we suffer with her and are enchanted with the clarity and grace with which she speaks her lines —and at the end, broken and bereft of reason, she leaves us desolate. But the solitary and touching genius that was Miss Taylor's is not here. It is unjust to judge an actress by such a fanatic standard, but it is impossible not to remember.

With his brooding, savage portrayal of the violent Stanley Kowalski, Marlon Brando arrives as the best young actor on the American stage. Most young men in our theater seem hardly violent enough to complain to a waiter who has brought them cream instead of lemon. Brando seems always on the verge of tearing down the proscenium with his bare hands.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Representing the healthy, driving forces of the flesh, Brando plays a useful trick on us. He is so amusing in a direct, almost childlike way in the beginning, and we have been so conditioned by the modern doctrine that what is natural is good, that we admire him and sympathize with him. Then, bit by bit, with a full account of what his good points really are, we come dimly to see that he is one of the villains of the piece, brutish, destructive in his healthy egotism, dangerous, immoral, surviving. By a slouching and apelike posture, by a curious, submerged and almost inarticulate manner of speech, by an explosive quickness of movement, Brando documents completely a terrifying characterization.

Forgotten role. In almost every play, no matter how excellent, the author usually neglects one character. In this play it is Stella Kowalski, Blanche's sister. The idea for the character is interesting—the upper-class girl who for the overbearing pleasures of the flesh has willfully and delightedly allowed herself to become the slattern her husband can desire and understand. But in its development the character is skimped; neither the slattern nor the belle is convincing. Miss Kim Hunter, playing this troubled role, is baffled by her problem and leaves it where she found it. On almost any other stage in New York she would probably appear as a superior actress. But in this gifted company, new standards must be applied.

I must put in a word about one of my favorite actors, Karl Malden, who seems, in a wide variety of parts through the recent years, never to have been able to do any wrong. Here, as a shy, anguished, groping and disappointed suitor, he supplies a rueful humor and an elephantine delicacy that are immensely helpful.

I regret that space does not permit examination of another important event—the Experimental Theatre's brave production of Bertolt Brecht's "Galileo." Next week, when I have recovered somewhat from "A Streetcar Named Desire." IRWIN SHAW

MUSIC

When the Wind Blows

A FAMOUS VICTORY for free speech in the theater a decade ago was recalled by Leonard Bernstein's concert performance of Marc Blitzstein's "play with music," "The Cradle Will Rock," as the final program of the New York City Symphony season. In 1937 Orson Welles spent weeks rehearsing a Federal Theater cast in preparation for the first performance. On the day of the scheduled première a decree from the upper ranks of the WPA forbade its production under federal sponsorship. The libretto set forth political opinions somebody considered subversive, for it lampooned Mr. Mister, a big shot who dominated the lives and souls of nearly everyone in Steeltown, USA.

Welles and Blitzstein refused to be intimidated by the edict. A single day allowed no time to fight out the issue in Washington, so they rented a non-WPA theater and gave their own impromptu performance. The entire cast came along loyally, but the WPA scenery and costumes had to be left behind.

Since the members of the company were likely to be thrown off relief if they could be charged with acting in the blacklisted play, they did not appear on the stage of the Venice Theater, but spoke and sang their parts from seats scattered about the house. Blitzstein, alone on a bare stage, played the orchestral passages on a battered piano. Adversity brought instant fame, and the skeletal production ran for several months on Broadway.

Step by step. Until Bernstein revived "The Cradle Will Rock" nobody had heard Blitzstein's original orchestration since the dress rehearsal of the WPA performance that never came off. Bernstein himself subsequently directed a version with piano accompaniment while he was a student at Harvard, and the Chicago Repertory Theater, a semi-professional group supported principally by union mem-

FOLKS LIKE IT!!
FOR PARTIES
SELL'S LIVER PÂTÉ
SIMPLY DELICIOUS!
YOUR GROCER HAS IT
GET SOME TODAY!

RESORTS

THE WOODLANDS
PHOENICIA, NEW YORK
Reopening from DECEMBER 24 to JANUARY 4
Fill your Christmas stocking in a Winter Fairyland with outdoor skating, skiing and sledding.
N. Y. Phone: BOulevard 8-1461
Fill another stocking with indoor gaiety and palate-pleasing victuals.
New York Address: SIGGIE GOLDNER 68-36—108th Street, Forest Hills, New York

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR—FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Skiing in season. Records, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Golf course nearby. Delicious food. Easy transportation. American-Jewish cooking.
Attractive Winter rates
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299

Yours! THE PERFECT CHRISTMAS VACATION!
Full Entertainment Staff
All Winter Sports
Ice Skating on Premises
Reservations Dec. 24th—Jan. 4th
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

world famous lake placid
year 'round vacation wonderland
$10 and up daily includes de luxe room, bath, superb meals at the new Hotel Marcy LAKE PLACID, N. Y.
Send for souvenir booklet NR-7 "The Lake Placid Story"

BUY VICTORY BONDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hundreds sold!
Small supply left!
Order now!

Reprints of New Republic's Special Report

FIXING THE BLAME FOR THE COLD WAR

by Publisher Michael Straight; Managing Editor Edd Johnson; and veteran overseas correspondents Leland Stowe, Constantine Poulos, Mark Gayn and Percy Winner. 12 pages complete, 10¢ per copy.

This informative, exclusive New Republic report covers the current and heated question of American-Russian relations. It is written frankly and seeks to answer the question of whether a doctrine of peaceful co-existence can be worked out between the two nations; and what the possible policies are to avert a fighting war. It includes specific reports from Italy, Germany, Korea, Greece and the explosive Balkans.

This is a "must" for all those desirous of a permanent peace. Copies are 10¢ each or 100 reprints for $7.50, postpaid. Buy 10 or more for your friends. Use handy coupon below.

Dept. CWR-2 NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Send me _____ copies of "Fixing the Blame for the Cold War." I am enclosing $_____ to cover cost and postage.

Prices: 10¢ per copy. 100 for $7.50.

Name_____

Address_____

City & Zone_____

State_____

bers, gave a similar performance. In New York the piece passed into the realm of legend after it had created its initial sensation.

For his concert revival, Bernstein persuaded Will Geer and Howard da Silva to take again the parts they created for Mr. Mister and Larry Foreman, his boldest opponent. Shirley Booth lent the acid fatuity of her wonderful comic delivery to the role of Mrs. Mister, a poison-pen caricature of a culture-chasing parvenue. Aided by the brash and often very pictorial instrumentation of the shrewd, theatrically opportune orchestral score, Bernstein and his cast roused two capacity audiences to cheers.

A few blocks south of the City Center, Broadway cocked its ear to the sound, and now at last—under the joint aegis of Michael Myerberg and the New Theater—"The Cradle Will Rock" is to emerge around New Year's in a full-scale production, with orchestra and costumes.

Black and white. It would be agreeable to report that the social message of Blitzstein's jazz-opera satire has not dated, but it has, and in a peculiarly discouraging way. The conflict of forces in 1947 has become too grave and too complex to fit into Blitzstein's neatly contrived antithesis of the naughty tycoon and the high-minded labor leader. Good and bad in our present society cannot be described either in terms of labor and capital or of any other naïve cliché, and "The Cradle Will Rock" becomes disquieting as political propaganda in its refusal to concede that freedom and oppression may not always be identified as the unique attributes of particular income groups.

A sort of musical "Waiting for Lefty," Blitzstein's play tends to solve its problem by pasting the union label on its protagonist, implying that membership in an approved organization provides a satisfactory criterion of political morality. The whole homiletic tone of "The Cradle Will Rock" sounds adolescent in 1947, and makes us wonder whether we really believed only a decade ago that a free world could be patterned on so rudimentary a blueprint.

No lesson. Dramatically and musically the piece is uneven. Its best passages still carry a wallop—particularly the beginning, which touches on a note of pathos that is not always sustained later, and the jubilant finale, which mixes loud jazz with the sounds of a boys' fife and drum corps to celebrate the triumph of Larry Foreman. The flashback technique of telling the life histories of the chief characters one at a time seems less refreshing than it did before it had been employed so often, and the limitations of expressive range imposed by the idiom of popular music restrict the interpretative usefulness of the music.

Compared to Kurt Weill's "Three-Penny Opera"—the modernized version of "The Beggar's Opera" after which Blitzstein's work is modeled—"The Cradle Will Rock" is on the whole crude in style and shallow in psychological insight. The first-night audience took it as more of a lark than a lesson. If it succeeds on Broadway in 1948, my cynical guess is that the audience will listen to it on a musical-comedy level, regarding it as escapism rather than pertinent contemporary argument.

CECIL SMITH

DRAWN FROM LIFE BY SELIGSON

BERNSTEIN . . . BLITZSTEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOR: Last Month in Georgia

IN THE WASHINGTON OFFICE of Clare E. Hoffman (R, Mich.) are some pictures of violent picket-line disturbances which he obviously thinks were caused by union malefactors. If newspaper photographers had been hanging around 73 Meadow Street, Tallapoosa, Georgia, on Monday night, November 17, the Representative from Michigan might now have some pictures of the abduction of Mrs. Edna Martin, a volunteer CIO worker.

Mrs. Martin, a widow, lives in Athens, Georgia. She has worked in Southern textile mills, she says, "all her life." For four years she has been a member of the Textile Workers' Union, which is one of the unions spearheading the CIO campaign to organize workers and abolish the Southern low-wage "differential." She helped lead a strike in Athens which ended with a National Labor Relations Board decision in favor of the strikers.

Mrs. Martin went into Tallapoosa about two months ago to help organize the American Thread Mill plant, which employs 300 workers. Intending to spend "at least a week" to "help the people get their union started," she found a room at 73 Meadow Street at noon on November 17.

Ordeal by violence. There are sections in Mrs. Martin's affidavit which convey her sense of fear the night of November 17 when she had returned to her room after making some organizing calls. She found no catches on the windows or lock for the door. She had to get water from the front-yard pump and heat it in her room for her bath. She heard voices outside and "had a sensation of being watched." She went to bed, after placing impromptu booby-traps in front of the windows, to read the *Saturday Evening Post* by flashlight.

About midnight there was a knock on the door and a woman's voice asked to "talk" to Mrs. Martin. Four men and five women crowded into the room. One of the women informed Mrs. Martin that "we don't want no God-damn CIO here and we don't want no CIO representative here."

They forced Mrs. Martin into her clothes and tied her hands. They stuffed a gag in her mouth. "I took it," says Mrs. Martin, "to be a man's dirty handkerchief. It made me gag and nauseated me."

They took her out to a truck and "piled her" in the back. They threw in her clothes and possessions. They drove her around highways and dirt roads, sometimes with the truck lights turned on and sometimes driving without lights. At one place they stopped and Mrs. Martin remarks in her affidavit: "I thought my time had come."

Eventually they put her out near a railroad line. They took the gag from her mouth and cut the rope binding her hands. They put her radio, her clothes and suitcase on the ground beside her. Mrs. Martin walked toward the railroad carrying her clothes and radio for a distance, then going back for the suitcase.

A taxi driver picked her up on a highway, near the town of Bremen, and took her to the home of her friend, Ila Kemp, where she arrived at approximately twenty minutes to two in the morning.

"I was blue with cold," Mrs. Martin states, "and very nauseated.

"I had lost a $10 bill, a $65 17-jewel wristwatch, several pieces of underwear, two dresses, one pair of black nylon hose and one pair of brown shoes."

The *CIO News* recently announced that its Southern organizing campaign —Operation Dixie—was "organizing plants and building unions without the help of the NLRB." But a Textile Workers' Union spokesman bluntly admits that textile-union organization now has been "almost halted."

The reasons, he says, are that non-

MOTION PICTURES

GREGORY PECK
DOROTHY McGUIRE
JOHN GARFIELD
Gentleman's Agreement
BRANDT'S MAYFAIR 20th CENTURY-FOX 7th Ave. & 47th St.

RKO ALBEE FULTON & DeKALB BROOKLYN 2d Week
"A BIG SHOW AND A GOOD ONE."—N. Y. Times
DANNY KAYE • VIRGINIA MAYO
'THE SECRET LIFE of WALTER MITTY'
With GOLDWYN GIRLS • Color by Technicolor
— and —
DON CASTLE 'THE INVISIBLE WALL'

STAGE PLAYS

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY

The Nation's Laugh Hit!
by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM Thea. 45 St. E. of B'way

"THE WITTIEST PLAY IN TOWN"-Atkinson, Times
MAURICE EVANS
in GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY
MAN AND SUPERMAN
ALVIN Thea., 52nd St. W. of B'way. CI 5-5226
Evgs. 8:30 Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Give to help fight CANCER!

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y. 173

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BROOKLYN
COMMUNITY SCHOOL
Limited Number of Vacancies Now Exist in Pre-School, 6, 11, & 12-yr-old Groups
Progressive, non-profit school for boys and girls; superior staff, enriched curriculum. Fireproof building, ample play space.
To apply, telephone for interview
ELEANOR W. FOSTER, Director
196 N. Y. Ave., B'klyn 22, N. Y. PR 2-0196

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—No. 1 Xmas gifts. All popular brands $1.43 per carton. Minimum order 3 cartons. Cigars—10¢ brands $4.29 per box of 50. All orders shipped postpaid insured on day received. Send check or money order. P.X. SALES, 287 14th Ave., Newark 3, N. J.

CIGARETTES — FAMOUS BRANDS $1.43 a carton postpaid. Send check or money order to **MASON'S Reliable Service**, 431 S. 14th St., Newark 3, N. J. Minimum 3 cartons.

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

FARMS & ACREAGE

TWO INEXPENSIVE summer or year-round homes. One has 9-room house; new plaster; new decorations; electricity; phone; gravity spring water; one acre of garden and lawn; splendid view; RFD road; $3,000 on easy terms. The other has good 8-room house; 50 acres scenic woodland; barn; RFD road. $4,000 on easy terms. Berkshire Farm Agency. East Chatham, N. Y.

"GOOD NEIGHBORS" WANTED

CHOICE ACRES are offered much below developer's prices. Write Chester Rick, Peekskill, New York, Tel. 2515-M.

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian Spanish, Portuguese — Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Available under GI Bill of Rights. Send for FREE book, LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York, CI 7-0830.

PAINTINGS

PAINTINGS UNDER $100. Artists Orban & Pacheco at our studio, 30 East 14th Street, N. Y. C. Call GR 7-1748.

POSITIONS WANTED

RESEARCH, editorial educational or translating (French, German, Hebrew) work wanted. College English teacher. BA. Hon., M. A., Ph.D. Candidate, experienced. Box 43, The New Republic.

EDITORIAL, RESEARCH, or educational work wanted with union or other progressive organization. Young woman, B.A. social science and English. Editorial and research experience, articles for unions. Address: Box 40, The New Republic.

RESEARCH

YOUR FACTFINDER: investigates any problem. Broad experience, science, sociology, psychology. Research, abstracts, translation, European-American background. Fee or share of profits. Box 867, The New Republic.

SCISSORS

SCISSORS. Forged Steel 8-inch ($3 val.) $1.85; 7-inch, $1.55; 5-inch, $1.15. Send check or money order to American Products, 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois. If not satisfied, return; money refunded.

TYPING

MANUSCRIPT AND THESIS TYPING, intelligent, inexpensive. Ambassador Office Service, 17 East 48th St., N. Y. C., PL 3-1364.

union employers keep pushing wages up close to the union scale and that "various forms of intimidation" are being used against the workers.

Mohawk Valley, 1947. Ten years ago, union organization was temporarily checked by tactics described as the Mohawk Valley formula—the organization of a whole community against a union.

Today Remington Rand is applying what the United Electrical Workers (CIO) call a new version of the Mohawk Valley formula—an appeal to the NLRB to decertify the union. The board has ruled that an election, by which the union has a chance to prove its majority, cannot be held because UE officers have not signed non-Communist affidavits. The board's general counsel, Robert N. Denham, told a reporter that Remington Rand would sign new contracts with the UE "at its own peril."

A government corporation, Government Services, Inc., which operates cafeterias in various federally owned Washington buildings, recently demanded that the United Public Workers (CIO) sign non-Communist affidavits before negotiations for a new contract with the workers proceeded.

The Taft-Hartley Act does not excuse a corporation—private or public—from bargaining with its workers because non-Communist affidavits have not been filed. It merely deprives these workers of the legal right to seek help to compel bargaining.

Denham's statement that a company signs a contract with a union "at its own peril," if non-Communist affidavits have not been filed, is technically correct.

A union not "certified" by the NLRB may be attacked by another union and the company's labor relations thus be disrupted. But even a certified union may be attacked toward the end of its contract term. And Denham's statement sounds as extreme in its implications as his earlier attempt—overruled by the NLRB itself—to force all AFL and CIO officers to sign non-Communist affidavits.

WILLARD SHELTON

CORRESPONDENCE

Advertisement

SIR: My poor naïve wife, who is used to finding much meat in the *NR*, was quite disturbed to find the back page of the November 17 issue fly-blown. She was perturbed to find that a certain E. F. Hutton, by his own admission "just an American citizen," could fill a whole page of your magazine with such poison. She vaguely recalled having seen his name attached to a diatribe praising the virtues of "free enterprise." (By the way, do you know that the slogan "free enterprise" was invented by a man named Adolf Hitler?)

I had to point out to her that the page was marked ADVERTISEMENT. That perturbed her more than ever—how could "just-an-American-citizen" Hutton afford to pay for such ads? When I told her that Hutton is the Wall Street investment banker, she became incensed at the thought that the *NR* would play such a lowdown trick on its readers.

Instead of that ambiguous message in italics at the bottom of the page, why not tell your readers the identity of Mr. Hutton and the "individuals who believe it carries a forthright statement of American [Big Business?] principles," with perhaps an estimate of why they want such a misleading message so widely distributed.

ANDOR DE SOOS

Klamath River, Calif.

SIR: I have been reading Henry Wallace's articles on Palestine and I think they are fine; also in this issue (November 17) I think the advertisement on the back page is really great.

Baltimore, Md. N. WOLBARSHT

Boomerang

SIR: I thought you might be interested in a little incident which indicates a small backfiring on *New Republic* policy. On the bus in which I commute to San Francisco, the other day I eavesdropped on a conversation of two men. One was reading aloud the restrictive-housing covenant which you printed in one of your recent issues. It was the *NR* he held in his hand. The other man said: "Yes. That ought to do it. We'll draw up the papers and get everyone in the project to sign them. The wording in that is just what we need, but don't tell anyone where we got it."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The discussion continued about how other housing projects had restrictive covenants against non-Caucasians and it was about time they had one too. The men got off the bus together at a new real-estate development—nice little white houses for medium-income groups.

A SUBSCRIBER

San Francisco, Calif.

Source Omitted

SIR: My article, "Medical Aid to Peace" (the *NR*, October 27), was, as indicated, a summary of the views of Dr. Brock Chisholm, executive secretary of the United Nations World Health Organization. My article was based upon an interview with Dr. Chisholm, and various writings by him in several places. By inadvertence, I neglected to mention one of these sources, his lectures for the William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, which were published in *Psychiatry* and reprinted in pamphlet form for wider distribution. I particularly regret the omission because the Foundation has done a great deal to disseminate Dr. Chisholm's views.

New York City BRUCE BLIVEN

Credits

On page 29 of the November 24 issue, the Nazi underground leaflet should have carried the credit line: "New York's *Aufbau*."

The drawing of Clifford J. Durr on page 21 of the December 15 issue is by William Sharp.

BANDWAGON

Hold That Hemline!

The distinguished British historian and military expert, B. H. Liddell Hart, is highly pleased that women have taken to long skirts. Says he: "Short skirts and straight lines have always foretold trouble, whereas long skirts and curving lines have borne a promise of peace and prosperity." – *From the Los Angeles* Examiner.

All Right So Far

NO POSSIBILITY OF WORLD WAR III DISCERNED BY CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Munitions, Explosives and Manufacturing Machinery Makers Base Forecast on Fact No Such Orders Have Been Placed

– *Head and subhead in the New York* Times.

High-Time Department

Yard man to take care of property 100 x 200. Wash windows, cars and make himself generally useful around property. Steady job. Sleeping accommodations and bath in about two months. – *Ad in the Elmhurst, Illinois,* Press.

A Home From Home

With each visit the handsome prince's appreciation of our American way becomes more enthusiastic, its impact on his almost feudal country more extraordinary. Latest story, claimed to be true, is that Prince Feisal is so enamored of the Waldorf Towers, he is going to duplicate it precisely in Saudi Arabia. – *From Mary Van Rensselaer Thayer's column in the Washington* Post.

Impractical

Inasmuch as Portsmouth has only two colored citizens—Joe and his sister Liz—there is no Jim Crowism on the island. There just aren't enough colored folks around to support it. – *From the State News Bureau, Raleigh, North Carolina.*

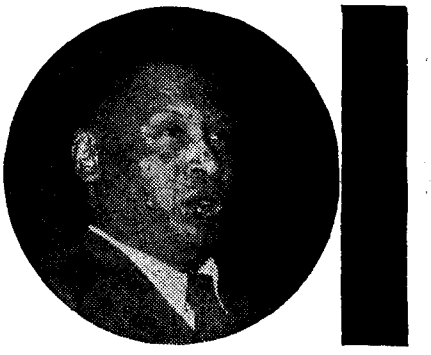
Assimilated

Democratic Representative McCormack of Massachusetts today urged House approval of emergency aid to Europe to help preserve Christianity in the Western world against what he termed "atheistic communism." By Christianity, McCormack said he meant Protestants, Catholics and Jews. – *Transradio bulletin from Washington.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

"Freedom Train"

the sensational reading of LANGSTON HUGHES' poem recorded by



Paul Robeson

A CHRISTMAS GIFT WITH A MEANING

Single copy, $1.05, 6 copies $5.70, 12 copies $10.20, 25 copies or more 65¢ each. All prices include tax.

Send check or money order to

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

P. O. Box 7594, Washington 4, D. C.

Cut me out

✻

→ Become a special NR Subscription Agent.

→ Earn extra money selling New Republic subscriptions.

→ Write now for details.

✻

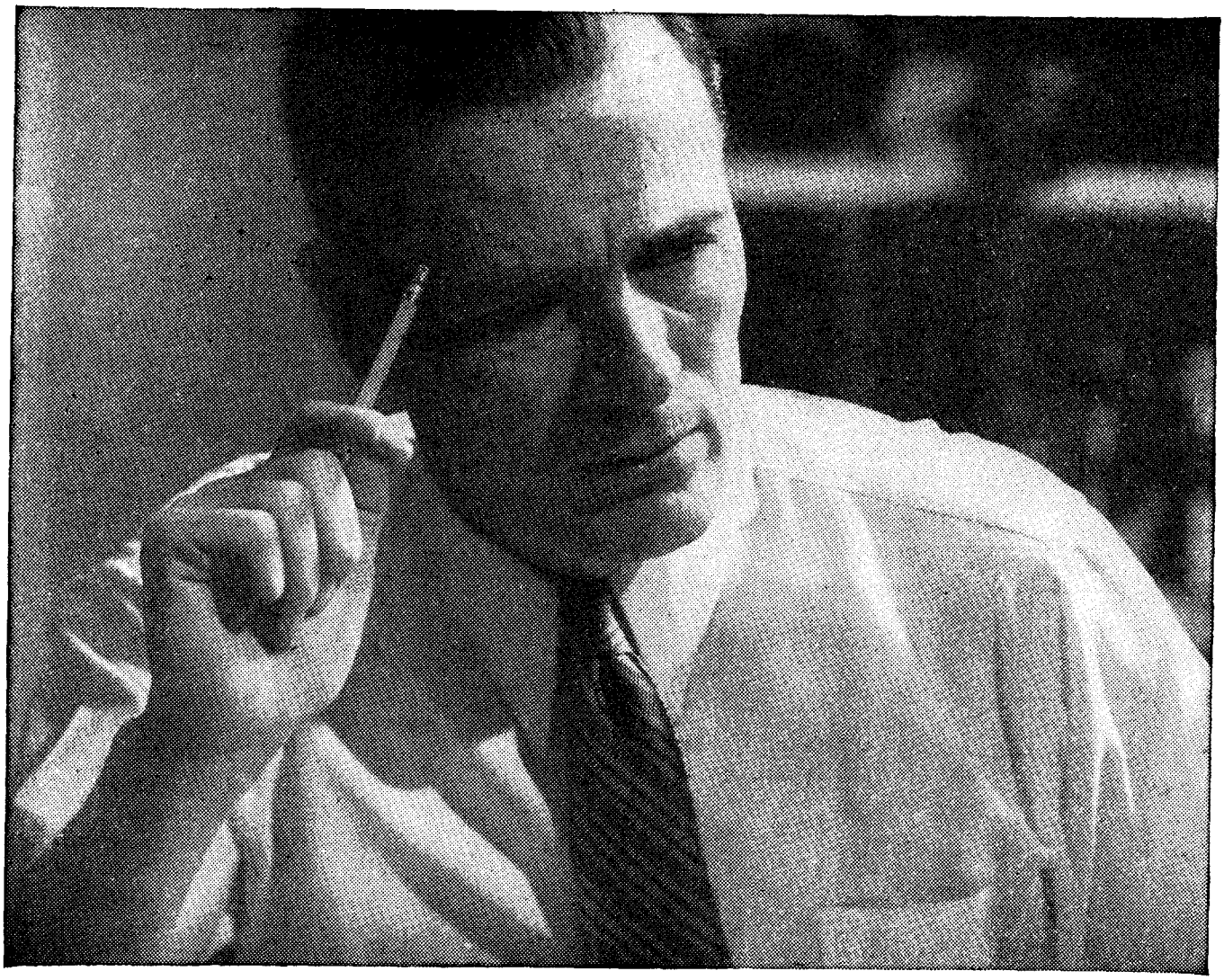
Department LA

The NEW REPUBLIC

40 EAST 49 STREET, NEW YORK, 17, N. Y.

THE NEW REPUBLIC'S Special Classified Advertising Section, which usually appears in this place, will resume publication next month.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



When does a man start slipping?

The moment comes to every man.

The moment when he realizes that he isn't the man he used to be . . .

That the days of his peak earning power are over . . .

That some day not so very far away some younger man will step into his shoes.

When does this time come?

It varies with many things.

But of one thing you can be sure. It will come to you as surely as green apples get ripe—and fall off the tree.

Is this something to worry about? Well, yes. But . . . constructively. For that kind of worrying can lead you to save money systematically.

What's the best way to do this? By buying U. S. Savings Bonds . . . *automatically*. Through the Payroll Savings Plan. Or through the Bond-A-Month Plan at your checking account bank.

Either method is an almost foolproof system of saving. It's automatic. You don't put it off. There's no "I'll start saving next month"—no "Let's bust the piggy bank."

And you get back four dollars, at maturity, for every three invested.

So why not take this one step now that will make your future so much brighter?

Get on the Payroll Savings Plan—or the Bond-A-Month Plan—today.

Sure saving because it's automatic—U.S. Savings Bonds

Contributed by this magazine in co-operation with the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED